

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5277

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NAIROBI 0428

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FOR THE SECRETARY AND SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

DEPT PLEASE PASS DAR ES SALEEM, LUSAKA, OTHERS AS APPROPRIATE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: RICHARD'S SECOND VISIT TO DAR ES SALAAM

1. SUMMARY: RICHARD PLEASED BY NYERERE'S STATEMENT TO HIM THAT FRONTLINE PRESIDENT'S COMMUNIQUE IN LUSAKA WAS INTENDED TO MEAN THAT GUERRILLA WAR WOULD CEASE UPON INSTALLATION OF AGREED INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND BY FACT BOTH KAUNDA AND NYERERE AGREED THAT HE COULD EXPLAIN THEIR ASSURANCES ON THIS MATTER TO THE PRESS. HE REALIZES THIS FALLS SHORT OF "BANKABLE ASSURANCE" HE MENTIONED TO VORSTER AND HOPES THAT HE CAN OBTAIN SOMETHING IN WRITING TO MAKE THESE UNDERSTANDINGS MORE EXPLICIT. HE WILL SEE NKOMO AND MUGABE IN MAPUTO JANUARY 16 AND WILL DECIDE WHETHER TO SEE VOSTER AFTER THAT. MEANWHILE, IN CONSULTATION WITH LONDON, HE PLANS SPEND 3 OR 4 DAYS IN NAIROBI AND WORK OUT NEW DRAFT VERSION OF BRITISH PROPOSALS THAT HE CAN GIVE TO THE NATIONALISTS. WHILE HE IS THUS CONTINUING HIS MISSION, HE THINKS IT CONCEIVABLE LONDON MAY WANT HIM TO RETURN FOR CONSULTATION THERE BEFORE HE GOES SOUTH. END SUMMARY.

2. I FLEW TO DAR ES SALAAM AND BACK TODAY FOR TALKS WITH RICHARD

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BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER HIS MEETING WITH NYERERE. IN EARLIER SESSION HE APOLOGIZED PROFUSELY FOR HAVING BEEN UNABLE TO GET WORD TO ME ABOUT HIS EARLY DEPARTURE FROM NAIROBI TO LUSAKA. HE EXHIBITED SOME SENSITIVITY ABOUT COMPLAINT SCHAUFLE MADE TO RAMSBOTHAM ABOUT HIS NOT KEEPING US FULLY INFORMED. (IN FACT, RICHARD HAS BEEN QUITE FORTHCOMING, THOUGH HE TENDS TO MAKE, AND CHANGE HIS TRAVEL PLANS ONLY AT LAST MINUTE WHICH MAKES HIM HARD

TO TRACK.) HE PROVIDED GOOD RUNDOWN OF HIS LUSAKA MEETINGS, ESSENTIALLY AS REPORTED LUSAKA 63 AND 64.

3. AT SECOND SESSION, RICHARD SAID THAT JUST BEFORE HE WENT IN TO SEE NYERERE HE GOT TELEGRAM WITH BRIEF MESSAGE TO DELIVER TO NYERERE FROM UK FOREIGN SECRETARY CROSLAND. MESSAGE INDICATED BRITISH WERE DISTURBED BY REPORTS FROM LUSAKA FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS MEETING, THAT BRITISH COULD NOT IMPROSE A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA, AND WERE BEGINNING TO WONDER IF THERE WERE ANY USE FOR BRITAIN TO BECOME MORE INVOLVED. (WILL OBTAIN EXACT TEXT TOMORROW.) RICHARD SAID THAT AFTER DELEVERING MESSAGE HE "WENT IN HARD" ON THE TWO MAIN POINTS FROM LUSAKA, E.G. THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS' RECOGNITION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF) AND THE MEANING OF THE COMMUNIQUE. NYERERE WAS A BIT TAKEN ABACK, RICHARD THOUGHT.

4. REGARDING THE COMMUNIQUE, NYERERE SAID THAT IT MEANT THAT WHEN AN AGREED INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS SET UP THE WAR WOULD COME TO AN END. RICHARD CHALLENGED NYERERE THAT "YOU DID NOT SAY THAT" IN THE COMMUNIQUE, TO WHICH NYERERE REPLIED THAT HE COULD GIVE HIS WORD AS PRESIDENT OF TANZANIA AND CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE THAT SUCH WOULD BE THE CASE, ADDING THAT RICHARD COULD TELL THE PRESS IF HE WISHED TO, WHICH RICHARD DID IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE MEETING. NYERERE ALSO INSTRUCTED ONE OF HIS PRESS AIDES TO WRITE AN EDITORIAL ON THE SUBJECT FOR WEDNESDAY'S PAPER. ON OTHER HAND, NYERERE EXPRESSED PUZZLEMENT AT ALL THE TALKS ABOUT GETTING A WAR TO STOP, SAYING "YOU CAN TELL VORSTER WE DO NOT WANT A WAR." RICHARD REPLIED HE DID NOT THINK VORSTER WANTED A WAR EITHER, BUT EACH GROUP HAS A CONSTITUENCY TO SATISFY. AGAIN, SECRET

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NYERERE EMPHASIZED THAT AS PRESIDENT HE COULD ASSURE THAT WAR WOULD STOP WHEN AN AGREED INTERIM GOVERNMENT WAS ESTABLISHED.

5. NYERERE SEEMED SOMEWHAT LESS REASSURING ABOUT THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS' ENDORSEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. RICHARD ASKED HIM ABOUT REPRESENTATION IN GENEVA, BUT NYERERE DID NOT ANSWER DIRECTLY. WHEREAS KAUNDA HAD ATTACKED MUZEREWA AND TOLD RICHARD THE FROMTLINE STATES MADE A MISTAKE IN ASKING THE UK TO INCLUDE HIM AND SITHOLE IN GENEVA, NYERERE SAID THAT THE WAS NOT SAYING THE BISHOP DOES NOT MATTER, BUT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO BRING THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN. "THE BISHOP CANNOT STOP THE WAR." THEREFORE THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS TOLD NKOMO HE MUST LEAD THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

6. NYERERE ADMITTED THAT THE BISHOP HAD SUPPORT, AND REVEALED THAT MUZEREWA WAS IN DAR ES SALAAM AND WAS COMING IN TO SEE HIM SHORTLY. HE SAID HE HAD ALREADY TOLD MUZEREWA TO BE PATIENT AND THAT HE MIGHT EVEN WIN THE ELECTIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION NYERERE USED A PHRASE WHICH RICHARD HAD HIM REPEAT, THAT

"GENEVA IS ABOUT MAKING CONDITIONS READY FOR ELECTIONS IN GENEVA."

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7. RICHARD SAID IT WAS ALL VERY WELL FOR THE FRONTLINERS TO SUPPORT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, BUT LOOK AT WHAT THE PF IS SAYING, IN EFFECT REJECTING THE BRITISH EFFORTS. NYERERE ARGUED THAT IN SPITE OF THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS THE PF LEADERS ARE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE; THEY RECOGNIZE A ROLE FOR WHITES IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, AND THEY ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. NYERERE ALSO ARGUED THAT LAW AND ORDER MUST BE MATTERS FOR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AS A WHOLE, PARTICULARLY FOR THE PRIME MINISTER. (IN THIS NYERERE TENDED TO KEEP COMING BACK TO THE PRECEDENT OF THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS AND PRE-INDEPENDENCE TRANSITION IN HIS OWN COUNTRY, JUST AS KAUNDA HAD KEPT TALKING OF "TUTELEGE.") HE THEN ADDED THAT THE BRITISH HAD GIVEN HIM THE IMPRESSION THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD ACT AS PRIME MINISTER AND RUN THE GOVERNMENT. SUBSEQUENTLY HE ACCEPTED THE IDEA THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER MUST BE THE CONSTITUTIONAL "GUARANTOR" AND WOULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE WITH REGARD TO REASSURANCES AS WELL AS DEFENSE, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS.

8. COMMENT: RICHARD BEGAN OUR SECOND SESSION BY SAYING THEY HAD "NAILED" NYERERE, APPARENTLY REFERRING TO FACT THAT NYERERE, LIKE KAUNDA, PERMITTED RICHARD TO TELL THE PRESS HE HAD BEEN ASSURED BY NYERERE THAT THE LUSAKA COMMUNIQUE MEANT THE WAR WOULD END WITH ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. RICHARD AGREED WHEN I SUGGESTED THAT VORSTER WOULD HARDLY SEE THESE

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STATEMENTS AS ANYTHING LIKE THE "BANKABLE ASSURANCES" RICHARD SPOKE OF EARLIER. DENNIS GRENNAN ALSO ADMITTED THIS AND SAID THESE WERE YET TO COME; THAT THE BRITISH MIGHT TRY TO WORK OUT SOME KIND OF WRITTEN STATEMENT THE NATIONALISTS AND FRONTLINE STATES COULD SIGN TO MAKE SUCH ASSURANCE MORE EXPLICIT. HE ASSUMED SOMETHING LIKE THIS WOULD BE NECESSARY BEFORE VORSTER WOULD AGREE THAT A RESUMPTION OF TALKS IN GENEVA WOULD BE USEFUL.

9. RICHARDS PLANS: RICHARD AND PARTY RETURNED TO NAIROBI THIS EVENING WHERE HE THOUGHT THEY MIGHT STAY THREE OR FOUR DAYS, WORKING OUT THEIR IDEAS ON NEXT STEPS. NKOMO WILL BE AVAILABLE (WITH MUGABE) IN MAPUTO ON SUNDAY JANUARY 16 BUT WILL BE GONE AFTER THAT UNTIL JANUARY 27, AND RICHARD TOLD THEM HE WOULD COME TO SEE THEM THERE. (HE SAID HE WOULD NOT SEE MACHEL AGAIN FOR FEAR MACHEL MIGHT RETREAT FROM THE FAVORABLE POSITION HE TOOK EARLIER.) THUS RICHARD TENTATIVELY PLANS TO FLY TO GABERONE JANUARY 15 (PRIMARILY TO AVOID OVERNIGHTING IN MAPUTO OR SOUTH AFRICA) AND TO MAPUTO EARLY JANUARY 16. HE IS TRYING TO GET DECISION FROM LONDON WHETHER HE SHOULD GO SEE VORSTER AFTER THAT. (BEFORE SEEING NYERERE HE THOUGH HE WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO TELL VORSTER BEYOND GIVING HIM A STATUS REPORT; AFTER SEEING NYERERE HE SPOKE AS IF HE FELT HE COULD SAY SOMETHING MORE POSITIVE.) WHILE IN NAIROBI, THE PARTY WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH LONDON TO PRODUCE A PAPER THAT COULD BE GIVEN TO THE PF TO PROVIDE THEM WITH SOMETHING MORE THAN THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH PROPOSALS BUT LESS THAN DETAILED STRUCTURAL PAPER GIVEN TO US. COPIES WOULD ALSO BE GIVEN TO REPRESENTATIVES OF MUZEREWAZI AND SITHOLE, PROBABLY IN LUSAKA. A SIMILAR PAPER, PERHAPS MORE DETAILED MIGHT BE GIVEN TO VORSTER AND SMITH. RICHARD WAS INCLINED NOT TO PROVIDE COPIES TO THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS AS THAT WOULD SIMPLY ENCOURAGE THEM TO INTERVENE IN DETAILS THAT SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE GENEVA DELEGATIONS.

10. ALTHOUGH HE INDICATED NO SPECIFIC PLANS TO DO SO, RICHARD
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SAID IT WAS CONCEIVABLE THAT LONDON MIGHT WANT HIM TO COME BACK FOR BRIEF CONSULTATIONS BEFORE HE GOES SOUTH AGAIN. I WILL SEE HIM AGAIN IN NAIROBI TOMORROW.
MARSHALL

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